



SKETCH OF THE LIFE
OF
CAPTAIN JOSEPH BRANT,
THAYENDANAGEA,

BY KE-CHE-HA-GAH-ME-QUA, BRANTFORD.

Montreal :

PRINTED BY JOHN DOUGALL & SON,
218 AND 220 ST. JAMES STREET.

1873.



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Ever since the advent of the European to American soil, nearly four centuries ago, the extermination of the Indian tribes and nations has been going on. With the exodus of Europeans to America came death to the hardy and numerous aboriginal tribes. In South America we cannot number the nations extirpated by the Spanish conqueror. History gives but a faint idea of the number of red men who, in North America, have passed away before the cruel hand of war. Diseases before unknown to the Indian have likewise carried off their thousands. The gain to the nations of the world in the steady march of civilization westward, has not been counterbalanced by a corresponding improvement in the condition of the American Indian. Disinherited of their lands, in the majority of cases by foul means, the Indians find themselves to-day stripped of all but a miserable fragment of their once glorious patrimony, and the inheritors of the many vices and diseases of their white exterminators.

We owe a long debt of gratitude to the poor Indian. It is high time for Christian philanthropists to think of their duty to the few remaining tribes of red men; and, while studying the forms which the human intellect has developed among them, interpose to raise and elevate them in the scale of civilization.

Many bright examples are on record proving that the Indian mind is capable of a high state of civilization. The subject of this paper, Captain Joseph Brant, known by the name of Thayendaneagea, pronounced Ti-yan-te-na-ga, is a wonderful instance of what Indian intellect can accomplish when sharpened and polished by intercourse with the better class of European society.

As our beautiful town of Brantford, or,

as it was formerly called, Brant's-ford, known as the spot where Brant first forded the Grand River, is named after this brave chieftain, his memory and history should be honored and cherished with gratitude by its inhabitants. Would it not do credit to the white population of the country to erect a monument to the memory of Thayendaneagea, that succeeding generations may see and know the hero after whom the fast rising town of Brantford and our beautiful county is named?

Joseph Brant, or more correctly Thayendaneagea, was born in 1742; he was the son of Tehowaghewagaraghkin, (pronounce it if you can), a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Tribe. His parents resided in the valley of the Mohawk, New York State, and were on an expedition to the Ohio River when Joseph was born. While Joseph was a mere lad his father died, after which event his mother returned with two children,—Molly and Joseph—to their old home, Canajoharie. Shortly after this the mother married a respectable Indian called Carrihoga, whose Christian name was Barnet, by corruption Brant. It is reported that the future brave war chief was first known by the appellation of "Brant's Joseph," and, in process of time, by inversion, "Joseph Brant." In the *London Magazine* for July, 1776, it is stated that he was the grandson of one of the five sachems who visited England in 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne. Chieftainship among the Six Nation Indians is not always hereditary; yet there is no doubt Joseph Brant was of noble blood.

When only thirteen he entered the war-path at the memorable battle of Lake George, under the command of General Hendrick. This gallant officer was slain in this engagement. This victory over the French laid the foundation of Sir W. John-

son's fame, for which he was created a baronet.

In relating the particulars of this engagement to Rev. Dr. Stuart some years after, the youthful warrior acknowledged:—"This being the first action at which I was present, I was seized with such a tremor when the firing began that I was obliged to take hold of a small sapling to steady myself; but after the discharge of a few volleys I recovered the use of my limbs and the composure of my mind so as to support the character of a brave man, of which I was especially ambitious." Brant was no doubt a warrior by nature. "I like," he said once in after life, "the harpsichord well, the organ better, but the drum and trumpet best of all, for they make my heart beat quick."

From all accounts, he must have been a lad of uncommon enterprise, giving early promise of those eminent qualities which were developed in the progress of a life of varied and important action. About the year 1760, after engaging with Sir W. Johnson in several campaigns of the bloody French War, he was placed by his patron in an institute in Lebanon, Connecticut, called the Moore School, to receive an English education. It is an interesting fact that Sir W. Johnson subsequently married Molly Brant, a sister of Joseph.

After leaving the seminary, where he attained considerable proficiency in the rudiments of education, he again engaged in active warfare, and was employed in the war with Pontiac and the Ottawas, the particulars of which struggles are not recorded. In the year 1765, he married the daughter of an Oneida chief, and settled in his own house in the Mohawk valley. Here, for some years, he spent a quiet life, acting as interpreter between his people and the whites, and lending his aid to missionaries in teaching the Indians. Brant was noted for his hospitality. About this time the conversion and civilization of the Indians engaged much attention. Sir W. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Inglis, drew the attention of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the necessity of having missionaries of the Church of England resident among the Mohawks. In 1770, the Society ordained a missionary exclu-

sively for the Mohawks, with his residence at Fort Hunter. The Rev. John Stuart was the clergyman selected for this arduous and self-denying work. Captain Brant assisted Mr. Stuart in the translation of a portion of the New Testament. Dr. Stuart writes concerning this labor as follows:—"During the winter of 1771, I first became acquainted with Capt. Brant. He lived at the Mohawk village, Canajoharie, about thirty miles distant from Fort Hunter. On my first visit to the village where he lived, I found him comfortably settled in a good house, with everything necessary for the use of his family, which consisted of two children—a son and a daughter—with a wife in the last stage of consumption. His wife died soon after, on which he came to Fort Hunter and resided with me a considerable time, in order to assist me in adding additional translations to the Indian Prayer-book." Dr. Stuart further intimates that the work accomplished in the way of translation consisted of the Gospel of St. Mark, part of the Acts of the Apostles, a short history of the Bible, with a concise explanation of the Church Catechism. The son referred to in the above letter was Isaac, who died at Burlington Heights, near the City of Hamilton, in the year 1795; the daughter, Christina, married Aaron Hill, a Catechist in the English Church. Christina died at the Mohawk Village, Brantford.

In the winter of 1772-3, Brant applied to Dr. Stuart to marry him to the half-sister of his deceased wife, arguing, after the manner of white widowers wishing to form a like connexion, "that the fact of the relationship would secure a greater degree of love and tenderness for the children." The Episcopal clergyman refused on account of the forbidden relationship, when a less scrupulous German ecclesiastic gratified his desire by performing the ceremony.

It was about this time Thayendanegea became the subject of serious religious impressions. He became a thorough-going churchman, entertained a high respect for missionaries and the Word of God, and attended the celebration of the Eucharist regularly. From his serious deportment and the anxiety he manifested for the

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civilization and christianization of his people, great hopes were entertained by his religious friends of his future usefulness to the church. The camp, however, is not the best university for the development of the Christian graces. Seldom has the military hero thrown aside the sword for the pen or the pulpit. Brant was always a high-minded, generous man, and, as such, set a noble example to his people. Had it not been for the counter-acting influence of his war education, no doubt his afterlife would have exhibited more of the Christian than the military hero.

In the year 1771 commenced the upheaving of those elements which terminated in the revolutionary war between Great Britain and the American Colonies. The Indians being a powerful body, both parties deemed it politic and necessary to negotiate for their services. Brant, from his attachment to his late noble patron, Sir W. Johnson, who died in 1774, determined, with his warriors, to adhere to his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, and, when the Colonel fled westward to avoid American capture, Brant, with his principal men, followed. Col. Guy Johnson appointed him his secretary. After discussing the policy they should pursue, Johnson proceeded to the Mohawk with a strong body of Indians. Brant now took a decided stand in favor of the royal cause, and, through all the subsequent campaigns of this deadly strife, evinced his strong and sincere adherence to the British crown. The Six Nations lost their extensive and fertile country, now the garden of the State of New York, through this attachment.

About this time Brant was made Principal War Chief of the Confederacy. It is not quite clear how he arrived at this dignity. Hendric was the last of the Mohawk chiefs who bore the title of King. He fell under Sir W. Johnson twenty years before, and was succeeded by "Little Abraham," a supposed brother of Hendric, of whom no further mention is made, excepting that he refused to accompany Brant and Guy Johnson in their flight from the Mohawk Valley. It is likely that force of circumstances facilitated Brant's advancement, such as his military distinctions, his des-

cent from a family of chiefs, and his official connection with the Johnson family. As our Indian hero had now become a principal personage in these troublesome times, the title of Captain was conferred upon him in the Army of the Crown.

In the autumn of 1775, Brant embarked with Captain Tice on his first visit to England. The precise object of this visit does not appear. It is probable the sagacious chieftain deemed it prudent, before committing himself too far by actually taking the field, to ponder well the cause of "the Great King," lest, by an overscrupulous observance of the ancient covenants of his people, he should be leading them to certain destruction. On his first arrival in London, he was conducted to the inn called "The Swan with two Necks." Lodgings more suitable to his rank were provided; but he said, "I am treated so kindly I prefer staying where I am." During this visit he figured at a grand masquerade ball, dressed in the brilliant costume of his nation. His novel and striking appearance drew towards him much observation from the ladies. An amusing incident here happened. In the midst of the festivities, the Mohawk Chief, flourishing his war-club and raising the war-whoop, so frightened his admirers that they rushed wildly out of the room, tumbling down stairs in the greatest confusion. This visit confirmed him in his attachment to the British Crown. In the spring of 1776, he returned to America, landing secretly near New York. The disturbed state of the country rendered this precaution necessary. While in England Brant procured a gold finger-ring, with his name engraved thereon, stating he intended that the same should provide evidence of his identity in case he fell in any of the battles he anticipated. This ring he wore until his death. It was kept as a precious relic by his widow for four years, when it was lost. Strange as it may seem, during the summer of 1836, the identical ring was found by a little girl in a ploughed field near Wellington Square, while the venerable Indian Queen was on a visit to her daughter, Elizabeth, the accomplished wife of Col. Kerr.

Many efforts were used, and arguments urged, to secure Brant's neutrality, or pre-

vent his joining the Royal standard. His old tutor, President Wheelock, sent him a long epistle on this subject, to which Brant ingenuously replied:—"I recall to mind, with pleasure, the happy hours I spent under your roof, and especially the prayers and family devotions to which I listened. One passage in particular was so often repeated it could never be effaced from my memory—viz., 'That they might be able to live as good subjects, to fear God, and honor the King'." This letter was sufficient to convince anyone that Brant was firm in his attachment to the British cause. In June of 1776, Brant visited Unadilla for the purpose of procuring provisions, which were perforce furnished him. In a conference held at this time, he again expressed himself decidedly in favor of the Royal cause, alluding to old covenants and treaties entered into between the King and his people, and complaining of ill-treatment from the hands of the colonists. Shortly after this, Gen. Herkimer, of the American militia, started with a strong force for Brant's headquarters, upon what terms does not appear. Before the troubles between Great Britain and America, these two men were great friends. The troops that Gen. Herkimer thought proper to bring to this conference, accordingly, were viewed with suspicion by Brant. The chieftain concealed himself for a week, and when the conference was entered into, had a body-guard of five hundred warriors with him. The respective parties met unarmed, and every precaution was taken to prevent treachery. The parley terminated unsatisfactorily, and another appointment was made for the coming morning. Afterwards it was discovered that the General had engaged one Joseph Waggoner, with three associates, to shoot Brant and his three principal men. Whether the chieftain entertained any suspicion of foul play is not certain; but, as he entered the circle, he drew himself up with dignity, addressing Gen. Herkimer as follows:—"I have five hundred warriors with me, armed and ready for battle. You are in my power. As we have been neighbors and friends, I will not take the advantage of you." Saying which, at a signal, a host of armed warriors darted from the forest, painted,

and ready for the onslaught, as their war-whoops too plainly proclaimed. The Chief then thanked the General for his civility in coming so far to see him, and trusted some day he might return the compliment. The late Colonel Robert Nelles, father to the present missionary to the Six Nations, the Rev. Canon Nelles, was a volunteer with the Indians and present on this occasion.

Brant next marched to the British place of rendezvous at Oswego. Here a great council was held with the representatives of Great Britain. The result of this conference was a treaty of alliance between the Indians and the British. In August of 1777, the bloody battle of Oriskany was fought. The destruction on both sides was very great. The veteran officer Herkimer here received his death-wound. Although the Indians were worsted on this occasion, the Six Nations, with the exception of the Tuscaroras and the Oneidas, remained faithful to the king. Brant, aided by Johnson and Butler, used strenuous exertions to win over the Indians of the Far West to the royal cause. Failing in all these efforts, the chieftain returned to his old quarters at Oghkwaga, where he continued to harass and plunder the colonists. In this guerilla warfare Brant always strove to stay the hand uplifted against the feeble and helpless. In his attack on Springfield, for instance, he drove off or took prisoners all the men, but concealed in safety the women and children.

Early in November, 1778, Brant was reluctantly prevailed upon to leave his winter quarters at Niagara, and accompany Walter Butler, a man whom he greatly disliked, in an attack on the beautiful and prosperous settlement of Cherry Valley, a village defended by fortifications and garrisoned by troops under Col Alden. The motive that impelled Butler to this expedition was a desire to avenge an imprisonment he had suffered on the charge of treason. The wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants of this settlement is said to have been fearful. The ferocious Senecas spared neither old nor young in their indiscriminate attack. The terrible scenes in the carnage of Cherry Valley cannot be shouldered upon Brant, since he held but a subordinate position in

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the Butler expedition. Eye-witnesses of that dreadful day state that the Mohawk chieftain frequently interfered to stay the uplifted tomahawk. Brant, they tell us, made an unsuccessful effort to avert the destruction of a family resident in this settlement, of the name of Wells, to whom he was strongly attached. One instance out of many that might be related, will show the *animus* which characterized Thoyendanagea throughout the Cherry Valley slaughter. On entering one of the dwellings of that village he found a woman engaged in her domestic duties, of whom he immediately inquired:—"Are you thus employed while all your neighbors are murdered around you?" The woman replied:—"We are in favor of the King." "That plea will not avail you to-day," replied the warrior; "they have murdered Mr. Wells' family, who are as dear to me as my own." "But," continued the woman, "there is one Joseph Brant; if he is with the Indians, he will save us." "I am Joseph Brant!" was the quick response, "but I have not the command, and I know not that I can save you; but I will do what is in my power." At the moment of uttering these words he saw the Senecas approaching. "Get into bed quick," he commanded her, "and feign yourself sick." The woman obeyed. He put the Indians off with this pretext. Upon their departure, by a shrill signal, he rallied a few of his Mohawks, and directed them to paint his mark upon the woman and her children. "You are now probably safe," he remarked, and departed. It is an Indian practice thus to mark their captives; the known mark of a tribe or chief is a protection from danger at other hands. It will thus be seen that the term "monster" is entirely inapplicable to Brant in connection with the Cherry Valley slaughter.

In the months of July and August of 1779, Brant again signalized himself by various successful expeditions, destroying villages and resisting the movements of his pursuers with remarkable skill. With the Iroquois and the Oneidas, Brant had many a brush. In 1780 he descended again into the Mohawk Valley, this time circulating a report that he was about to attack the forts, for the purpose of

obtaining stores. This rumor was only a feint to cause the militia to leave the villages, so that they might the more easily fall into the cunning chieftain's hands. The stratagem proved eminently successful. Much property was either taken or destroyed. Women and children were saved and borne into captivity. On one occasion Brant returned an infant one of his "braves" had carried off. With the messenger who bore back this child was a letter addressed to "the Commanding Officer of the Rebel Army," in which the chief avers that, "whatever others might do, he made no war upon women and children."

In the winter of 1780, Brant married his third wife, Catherine, the eldest daughter of the head chief of the Turtle tribe, first in rank of the Mohawk nation.

On the 24th October, 1781, the last engagement of importance connected with the Revolutionary War took place. In this battle the notorious Walter Butler was shot and scalped by an Oneida. Throughout these contests the Indians proved most efficient allies. No one can dispute the bravery of the Mohawk Chief. It may be said of him, as was said of the lamented General Brock:—"His eye was like the eagle's; his motions like arrows from the bow; his enemies fell before him as the trees before the blast of the Great Spirit."

This cruel war being ended—the tomahawk buried—peace proclaimed—Brant and his people, having disposed of their beautiful territory in the United States, applied to the Mississaugas, Ojebways of the River Credit, Upper Canada, for a portion of their lands. The Ojebways, in council, replied:—"Brethren, the whole country is before you; choose you a tract for yourselves, and there build your wigwams, and plant your corn." The Six Nations selected the Grand River tract, which, they said, reminded them of the country they had lost; they offered pay, but the Ojebways refused compensation. The Senecas also made an offer of a tract of land to the Mohawks in the valley of the Genesee; but, as Captain Brant long after said in one of his speeches, "the Mohawks were determined to 'sink or swim' with the English; besides they did not wish to continue

in the United States." Notwithstanding the constancy and valor of the Aborigines, especially the Mohawks, during the Revolutionary War, Great Britain, in her treaty of peace, made no stipulation in behalf of her Indian allies; the loyal red man was not even named, while the ancient country of the Six Nations, the residence of their ancestors far beyond their earliest traditions, was included in the boundary granted to the Americans.

In 1785, Brant paid his second and last visit to England. The adjusting of the claims of the Mohawks upon the Crown, and the indemnification of their losses during the war, formed the object of the chieftain's mission. A cordial reception awaited him among his old military associates. Statesmen and scholars sought his society. The Bishop of London, Charles Fox, James Boswell, and other noted characters, showed him marked attention. With the King and Royal family he was a great favorite. He sat for his picture for Lord Percy, and Fox presented him with a silver snuff-box bearing his initials. On his presentation to His Majesty he proudly refused to kiss his hand, gallantly remarking, "I am a King myself in my own country; I will gladly kiss the Queen's hand." George III. was a man of too much sense not to be gratified with the turning of the compliment in Her Majesty's favor. That the Chief was not an unsuccessful envoy on behalf of his people will appear from the following extract from Lord Sidney's communication, dated Whitehall, 6th of April, 1786. * * *

"His Majesty, in consideration of the zealous and hearty exertions of his Indian allies in the support of his cause, and as a proof of his most friendly disposition towards them, has been graciously pleased to consent that the losses already certified by his Superintendent-General shall be made good; that a favorable attention shall be shown to the claims of others who have pursued the same line of conduct." During this visit to England, Brant was the recipient of an elegant large octavo edition of the Gospel of St. Mark. This edition was printed under the patronage of the King, in alternate pages of English and Mohawk, and contained, in addition to the Gospel,

the Psalms, occasional prayers, together with the service of communion, baptism, matrimony, and the burial of the dead. It was embellished with engravings; the frontispiece representing the interior of a chapel, with portraits of the King and Queen, a bishop standing on either hand, and groups of Indians receiving the sacred books from both their Majesties.

Returning to his Canadian home, this celebrated chieftain was unwearied in his disinterested exertions to benefit his people. However desirous Captain Brant may have been for honor or power, he was never mercenary in regard to property. In one of his speeches he declared with all solemnity, that "I have never appropriated a dollar of money belonging to my nation to my own use; nor have I ever charged my nation a dollar for my services or personal expenses." Brant, with his people, supposed the land allotted them was conveyed in fee, by a perfect title; in this they were greatly disappointed. The chieftain used his best efforts to obtain for his people a perfect title, in fee, to their new territory, but all without avail: Council after council, conference after conference, with quires of MS. speeches, attest the sleepless vigilance with which he watched the interests of his tribe, and his ability in asserting and vindicating their rights. These troubles were a source of perpetual vexation to the old chief to the day of his death. In his last speech on this subject he declared:—"I cannot help remarking that it appears to me that certain characters here who stood behind the counter during the late war, and whom we knew nothing about, are now dictating to your great men concerning our lands. I should wish to know what property these officious persons left behind them in their own country, or whether, through their loyalty, they ever lost any? I doubt it much. But 'tis well known that scarcely a man amongst us but what sacrificed more or less by leaving their homes. It is well known that personal interest and not the public good prompts them." This speech Brant said should be his final effort to obtain justice from the "Great Men."

Brant expressed great anxiety for the thorough education of his two sons, Joseph

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and Jacob—and, accordingly, sent them to the school he had attended in Lebanon. The following extract from a letter addressed to President John Wheelock on this subject is of interest:—"It gives me unspeakable satisfaction to find that my boys are with you. I hope you will show me the kindness to make free, and be particular, in exhorting them to exert themselves, and to behave in a becoming manner. I should wish them taught that it is their duty to be subject to the customs of the place they are in, even with respect to dress and the cutting of their hair."

Brant's people being now in a transition state—neither hunters nor agriculturists—it formed the object of the Chief to draw them from the chase to cultivate the ground. The sad necessities of war transplanted the Six Nations to a primitive forest. The Mohawk Chief well knew what alone could prove the basis of an industrious community. One of Brant's first stipulations with the Commander-in-Chief was for the building of a church, a school-house, and a flouring-mill. With great exertion and scanty means, the church was built. This monument of Brant's devotion to the Church of England was erected on the banks of the Grand River, a short distance from where now stands the flourishing town of Brantford. This venerable house of God, now nearly a hundred years old, was the first Protestant church in Canada. These noble red men procured for the old Mohawk Church the first "church-going bell" that ever broke the stillness of a Canadian forest. It is reported that when Brant died, this bell tolled for twenty-four hours! In their loyalty to the British Crown, the Six Nations, although obliged to leave the major part of their possessions behind them in their flight from the States, yet managed to bear with them a few things they held sacred. The curious may be surprised to learn that one of these articles was a large Bible, and the other a complete service of Communion plate, presented to the Mohawks by the "the good Queen Ann," when they resided at Fort Hunter. On the Communion service is inscribed, "The Gift of Her Majesty, Ann, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Her Planta-

tions in North America, Queen, to Her Indian Chapel of the Mohawks."

A similar service was presented, at the same time, to the Onondagas; but they having no missionary, it was kept in trust by the rector of St. Peter's, Albany, where it has remained ever since. The Mohawks trimmed the pulpit of their church with crimson, painting on its walls the Creed Commandments, and the New England Society's and King's Coat of Arms.

Brant exerted every effort to obtain a settled clergyman for his Mohawk Church. Two or three years passed before his pious wish was gratified. Impatient of delay, he reminded the Bishop of the pledge the Archbishop of Canterbury had made to him in the presence of the King, that "Whenever the Indians, by the erection of a church, should be ready for religious instruction, he would do all in his power to supply their wants."

In 1784, the Rev. John Stewart, who had interested himself so much for their spiritual improvement in the States, emigrated with his family to Canada. In 1786 he visited the Indians, who were his former charge, at their new settlement at the Mohawk Village. Here he found them comfortably located on a fertile soil—the village containing about 700 souls. Mr. Stewart was delighted with their beautiful church, and remarks, "As they had no stated clergyman at the time, I preached to a very large audience; and it cost me a struggle to refuse the unanimous and pressing invitations of this large settlement, with additional salary, to remain amongst them."

The late Rev. Dr. Addison, of Niagara, visited them twice a year to perform baptisms and marriages. He was succeeded by the Rev. R. Leeming, then resident at Ancaster, who visited them occasionally. Their first resident minister was the Rev. Mr. Hough, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, succeeded by the Rev. R. Lugg, whom the New England Corporation Co. supplied, who remained but a few years, being obliged in 1836 to return to England, on account of ill health, where he soon after died, much regretted. Since that time the Rev. A. Nelles, assisted by the Rev. A. Elliott, have, by God's help, been their in-

defatigable and self-denying missionaries. Mr. Nelles still continues the head of the Missions, and the Principal of the Mohawk Institution. This school at present educates and entirely supports 90 children from the funds of the N. E. Society. There are at present laboring amongst these people four Church of England clergymen, and one Wesleyan Minister, with nine or ten day-schools.

At the Bay of Quinté there is one Church of England clergyman and two schools. The Oneidas have a large settlement on the River Thames. Part of them belong to the Church of England, and part to the Wesleyan Methodists. The Caughnawagas settled near Montreal after the Revolutionary War, and united with the Roman Catholics.

The tide of emigration has again obliged the Six Nations to leave their comfortable homes, and recede to the southern side of the Grand River, where they are clearing farms in the midst of the primeval forest. Their present locations being too far from the old Mohawk church, a new and beautiful one has lately been erected through the joint contributions of friends here and in England. This church is called "St. Paul's," and is situated at Kanyeageh, near the centre of the Reserve. It was consecrated for Divine worship on August 22nd, 1866, by the Right Revd. the late Lord Bishop of Huron. It is built of white brick in the early English style of architecture. There are two beautiful "In Memoriam" windows, one presented by the Rev. Canon Nelles, in memory of his late excellent wife, and the other by the Rev. A. Elliott, of Tuscarora, in memory of the late Mrs. Elliott.

It would, however, be sad to see their first and ancient House, "where their fathers praised God," come to ruin; and we are pleased to learn that, through the exertions of their chief missionary, the Rev. Canon Nelles, and other friends, efforts are now being made for its restoration. As a people we are under strong obligations to the Six Nations for their past valuable services in time of trouble; therefore we should be liberal in contributing towards this worthy object. The old church is also needed for

the use and benefit of the Indian children at the Mohawk Institution.

A few years prior to his death, Capt. Brant built himself a large frame house at the northern extremity of Burlington Bay beach, and Augustus Jones, father of the late Rev. Peter Jones, built his house at the southern end, now called Stony Creek. These two pioneers in Canadian history were very intimate. The beautiful smooth beach between their dwellings formed a natural sand road, over which they travelled backwards and forwards, sharing each other's hospitality.

On the 24th of November, 1807, this noble man died at his own residence, Wellington Square, at the age of sixty-four years and eight months. His illness, which was painful, he bore with great patience and resignation, and appeared thankful to his friends for the attentions they shewed him. His remains were conveyed to the Mohawk Village on the Grand River, and interred near the church which was erected chiefly through his indefatigable efforts. The interests of his people were uppermost in his thoughts to the end of his life. His last words that have been preserved on this subject, were addressed to an adopted nephew: "Have pity on the poor Indians. If you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can."

The Six Nation Indians, wishing more specially to distinguish the last resting-place of their late illustrious Chief, determined to have his remains re-interred in a new tomb, which interesting ceremony took place on Nov. 27th, 1850.

Catherine Brant, widow of Thayendaneage, was forty-eight when her husband died. As the inheritance of chieftainship descends through the female line, Mrs. Brant had power to appoint her own son, or if a grandson, it must be the child of her daughter. The head chief of the Six Nations is styled *Tekarihogea*, to which station the mother appointed John, her fourth and youngest son, whose Indian name was *Ahyonwaighs*.

This fine young man received a superior English education, studied the best English authors, and improved his mind by travel and good society. All who remem-

ber the late John Brant will bear testimony to his being not only a manly, but an amiable and accomplished, gentleman.

He distinguished himself at the battles of Queenston, Beaver-dams, and Lundy's Lane.

He visited England, like his father, for the express purpose of once more appealing to the justice and magnanimity of the Parent Government respecting the land-title controversy. Promises were made that his complaints should be redressed; but on returning to his country, his expectations were again thwarted, the Local Government refusing to carry into effect the instructions received; and to this day the long-pending and vexed question of titles to their lands remains as unsatisfactory as ever!

In the poem by Campbell—"Gertrude of Wyoming"—the poet, after describing the valley as a paradise, and the people as blessed spirits, introduces our hero as "the Monster Brant." This phrase gave great offence to the family of the old Chief, and during his son's visit in England, he determined to vindicate the memory of his father from the aspersions that had been cast upon it. After much communication with the poet, all the satisfaction he got was the insertion of an apology, not in the poem itself, but merely in a note at the end of the volume—a poor redress for such a wrong, as the poem lives through succeeding generations, while the note, if read at all, makes little impression and is soon forgotten.

John Brant evinced the same philanthropic spirit as his late father for the improvement of his people.

In the year 1832, he was returned a Member of the Provincial Parliament for the County of Haldimand; but as a large number of those by whose votes he was elected, held no other title to their lands than long leases, conveyed to them by Indians, his return was contested by the opposing candidate, Colonel Warren, who was declared chosen.*

JOHN BRANT'S DEATH.

But it mattered not which should, for a

* Extract from a letter from the Hon. M. S. Bidwell.

short season, wear the Parliamentary honors. Death soon laid both low. The desolating cholera swept fearfully over the country of the Great Lakes, cutting down, in the prime of manhood, and just as a bright and brilliant career of usefulness promised future service and honor, this noble, this proud example of what civilization and letters can do for a son of the American forest!

On the death of her favorite son John, the venerable widow of Joseph Brant, pursuant to the Mohawk law of succession, conferred the title of *Tekarihogea* upon the infant son of her daughter—Mrs. Kerr. This son, Simcoe Kerr, still lives on the old homestead, at Wellington Square, the recognized head Chief of the Six Nation Indians.

The widow of the late old Captain died at Brantford, on the Grand River, the 24th November, 1837, thirty years to a day from the death of her husband. Her age was 78. Dignified and stately in manners, tall and handsome in person, she well merited the title of "the Indian Princess."

BRANT'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

General P. B. Porter describes Brant as "distinguished alike for his address, his activity, and his courage, possessing in point of stature and symmetry of person, the advantage of most men, even among his own well-formed race,—tall, erect, and majestic, with the air and mien of one born to command. Having, as it were, been a man of war from his boyhood, his name was a tower of strength among the warriors of the wilderness."

HIS MANNERS

were affable and dignified, avoiding frivolity as one extreme, or stiffness on the other. Not noted for eloquence, his power lay in his strong, practical good sense, and his deep and ready insight into character.

AS A MAN OF RULE,

the Rev. John Stewart represents "his influence to have been acquired by his uncommon talents and address as a counsellor and politician, by which means he subdued all opposition and jealousy, and at length acquired such an ascendancy that, even in

the hour of action and danger, he was enabled to rule and direct his warriors as absolutely as if he had been born their general.'

AS A WARRIOR

he is represented as brave, cautious, and sagacious. His constitution was hardy, and his capability of endurance great, his energy untiring, and his firmness indomitable. In his business relations he was prompt, honorable, and a pattern for integrity.

HIS SENSE OF JUSTICE.

Justice was a distinguishing feature in the character of this noble man. When on long and fatiguing marches, with scanty supplies of food, every prisoner was allowed a full share with himself. The same love of justice marked his conduct during the Indian wars of 1789-95, as also his correspondence with the British Government regarding the subsequent difficulties touching the Grand River land title. When he thought the Indians claimed or demanded too much, he opposed them; when too little, he fought for them. In a letter to General Chapin, he says: "As to politics, I study them not. My principle is founded on justice, and justice is all I wish for. Never shall I exert myself for any nation or nations—let their opinions of me be what they will—unless I plainly see they are sincere and just in what they may aim at. When I perceive that these are the sentiments of a people, no endeavors ever shall be wanting on my part to bring nations to a good understanding."

HIS TEMPERANCE PRINCIPLES.

Brant ever evinced a deep solicitude to adopt some system to prevent this worst of all vices—intemperance. Experience has long proved that neither Brant's nor any other man's importunity can avail so long as the Indian comes in contact with the moral contagion of unprincipled white men and strong drink. Will not the blood of the Red man be required at his hands who, for paltry gain, has been an agent of Satan in the ruin and extermination of the original proprietors of the American soil?

BRANT A FREEMASON.

When Captain McKinstry was taken prisoner by the British, and marked as a victim by the Indians to be put to death by fire, Brant, recognizing him as a member of the brotherhood, exerted himself for his rescue, and, in connection with some humane English officers, subscribed to purchase an ox, which they gave to the Indians for their carousal instead of the gallant prisoner. An intimacy and friendship continued between these two parties until the Chief's death. After the Revolution, Brant never visited the Hudson without spending a few days at the Manor with his friend McKinstry. At the time of his last visit in 1805, he attended the Freemason's Lodge in the City of Hudson, where his presence attracted great attention.

The life of the late Jonathan Maynard, Esq., formerly a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, was saved by Brant, by his discovering on the prisoner's arms the symbols of Freemasonry, when the Indians had partially stripped him to put him to death. Mr. M. lived to an advanced age, universally respected, an upright and faithful magistrate. Surely such a character is neither savage nor cruel. Brant was no less humane than he was brave.

BRANT'S SHREWDNESS AND SAGACITY

are illustrated by the following anecdote. When *Jemima Wilkinson* (who professed to be the Saviour of the world in his second appearance on the earth) was residing in western New York she attracted the attention of Capt. Brant. His celebrity being known to her, an interview was obtained. She addressed him a few words of salutation, to which the chief replied in his own language, when she informed him she did not understand him. He then addressed her in another Indian dialect, to which in like manner she objected. After a pause he commenced a third speech in a still different tongue. She then interrupted him by expressing her dissatisfaction in his persisting to speak in terms she could not understand. Brant arose with dignity, and with a significant motion of the hand, said,—*'Madame, you are not the person you pretend to be. Jesus Christ can un-*

derstand one language as well as another," and abruptly took his leave.

BRANT'S VIEWS ON IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Extracts from the following letter to the late Thos. Eddy on the subject of "imprisonment for debt" will exhibit his views as a philanthropist. Mr. Eddy was directing his attention to the subject of prison discipline, and, it appears, the views of the Mohawk Chieftain coincided with his own.

**** "You ask me whether in my opinion civilization is favorable to human happiness? *** You will allow me in some respects to have had the advantage of you in forming my sentiments. I was, Sir, born of Melian parents, and lived while a child among those whom you are pleased to call *savages*. I was afterwards sent to live among the white people, and educated at one of your schools; since which period I have been honored, much beyond my deserts, by an acquaintance with a number of principal characters both in Europe and America.

"After all this experience, and after every exertion to divest myself of prejudice, I am obliged to give my opinion in favor of my own people. I will now, as much as I am able, collect together and set before you some of the reasons that have influenced my judgment on the subject now before us.

"In the government you call civilized, the happiness of the people is constantly sacrificed to the splendor of empire. Hence your codes of criminal and civil laws have had their origin; hence your dungeons and prisons. I will not enlarge on an idea so singular in civilized life, and perhaps disagreeable to you, and will only observe that amongst us we have *no* prisons; we have no pompous parade of courts; we have no written laws; and yet judges are as highly revered amongst us as amongst you, and their decisions as much regarded. Property, to say the least, is as well guarded, and crimes are as impartially punished. We have among us no splendid villains above the control of our laws. Daring wickedness is here never

suffered to triumph over helpless innocence.

"The estates of widows and orphans are never devoured by enterprising sharpers. In a word we have no robbery under the color of law.

"No person among us desires any other reward for performing a brave action but the consciousness of having served his nation. Our wise men are called Fathers; they are always accessible—I will not say to the meanest of our people, for we have none mean but such as render themselves so by their vices.

"The palaces and prisons among you form a most dreadful contrast. Go to the former places, and you will see perhaps a *deformed piece of earth* assuming airs that become none but the Great Spirit above. Go to one of your prisons; here description utterly fails! Kill them, if you please; kill them, too, by tortures; but let the torture last no longer than a day. Those you call *savages* relent; the most furious of our tormentors exhausts his rage in a few hours, dispatches his unhappy victim by a sudden stroke.

"But for what are many of your prisoners confined? For debt!—astonishing!—and will you ever again call the Indian nations cruel? Liberty, to a rational creature, as much exceeds property, as the light of the sun does that of the most twinkling star. I solemnly declare, I had rather die by the most severe tortures ever inflicted on this continent than languish in one of your prisons for a single year. Great Spirit of the Universe!—and do you call yourselves Christians? Does, then, the religion of Him whom you call your Saviour inspire this spirit, and lead to these practices? Surely no. It is recorded of Him, that a bruised reed he never broke. Cease then to call yourselves Christians, lest you publish to the world your hypocrisy. Cease, too, to call other nations savage, when you are ten-fold more the children of cruelty than they."

In short the great and fundamental principle of his policy was, that every man is naturally free and independent; that no one on earth has any right to deprive him of his freedom and that nothing could be a compensation for the loss of it.

In bringing this sketch of the noble Brant to a close, all unprejudiced minds will agree that few men have exhibited a life of more uninterrupted activity than Thayendanegea. It must be remembered that all his noble traits were displayed under circumstances unfavorable to their development. His educational advantages were comparatively few, his surroundings not such as would be likely to develop

the finer feelings of the man, or those higher principles of justice which secure the honor and respect of his fellow men. In spite of all these disadvantages, he stands forth, in many respects, a bright example for the more favored of our race. Brant was a high-minded, large-hearted, philanthropic man, whose memory not only the Indian, but also the "pale face" will long continue to honor and revere.

JOSEPH BRANT'S GENEALOGICAL TREE.

1ST WIFE—MARGARET.		2ND— SUSANNA.	3RD—CATHERINE.
Issue—		Died shortly after marriage, without issue.	Issue—
Isaac, Issue	Christina, Issue		Joseph, Jacob, John, Margaret, Catherine, Mary, Elizabeth.
Isaac, Margaret, Ellen. } Isaac and Margaret's descendants have passed away. Ellen married Lotteridge, Issue 3 girls, 1 boy, all living.	3 girls, 4 boys, Mary only living, a very kind and intelligent old lady, widow of the late Joseph Sawyer, Chief of the New Credit, or Messauga Band of Chippeways.		1. Joseph, } Issue, one child, obit 1830. } Catherine, who married Aaron Hill. 2. Jacob, } Issue, 6 children. obit 1846. } John, Squire, Christina, married the late John Jones. Jacob married Mary Jones. Peter. Charlotte married Peter Smith. 3. John, Never married, obit 1832. 4. Margaret, } Married Powles. obit 1848. } Issue several children. 5. Catherine,* Married Peter John. Issue three children. 6. Mary, Married Seth Hill, issue, one child, living. 7. Elizabeth,† Married to Wm. Kerr—four children.

* Catherine (Mrs. John) will be remembered by most of our Brantford friends as the last remaining child of the celebrated Brant. Mrs. John had four children, all of whom died many years ago. In old age she presented a queenly bearing; tall and handsome, a fine specimen of the pure Aborigines. She died in the home of her childhood, at Wellington Square, after a brief illness, on the 31st January, 1867, and was buried in the old Mohawk graveyard, close

to the tombs of her valiant father and other relatives.

† Elizabeth was married in 1828, at the Mohawk church, to William Johnson Kerr, Esq., son of the late Dr. Robert Kerr, of Niagara, and grandson of Sir William Johnson. Mrs. Kerr died in April, 1844, at Wellington Square, leaving four children, viz., Walter, Joseph, Kate, and Simcoe. The two last are still living.

Molly Brant, sister of Chief Joseph, was a woman of talent as well as tact. She possessed great influence among the Indians, and was aided by the counsels of her brother, Capt. Brant, who spent much of his time with Sir William Johnson during the latter years of his life. She was careful of the education of her children, and her descendants from Sir W. Johnson may be classed amongst some of the most respectable families in the Province.

As there is much of romance connected with her first acquaintance with Sir William, it may prove interesting as a link in Brant's history.

"Molly was a very sprightly and beautiful Indian girl of sixteen when he first saw her. It was at a regimental militia muster, where she was one of the spectators. A field officer coming near her upon a prancing steed, by way of banter she asked permission to mount behind him. Not supposing she could, he said she might. At the word she leaped upon the crupper with the agility of a gazelle. The horse sprang off at full speed, and, clinging to the officer, her blanket flying, and her dark tresses streaming in the wind, she flew about the parade-ground swift as an arrow, to the merriment of all. The Baronet, who was an eye-witness, admiring the spirit of the young girl, and becoming enamored of her person, took her home as his wife."

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE INDIANS.

Formerly all Indians lived in wigwams, and subsisted by hunting and fishing. Hundreds, nay thousands, still pagans, are no better off at the present time. But it is a matter of gratitude to Almighty God that through the labors of zealous and excellent missionaries, the religion of Jesus has done much to reform the moral, social, and domestic habits of these once degraded races. The women, who formerly were slaves to the men, have no longer the drudgery and hard work to perform, but are living in comfortable cottages, neatly clothed, and enjoying that peace which the religion of Jesus alone can give. The sober and industrious men are making

considerable progress in farming; many of them grow wheat, oats, peas, Indian corn, &c. &c., have small orchards, and cut considerable hay. But as the Indian possesses no *Title Deed* for his lands, he has only a life interest in them—a circumstance materially tending to check that spirit of enterprise which stimulates the white farmer in working and laying up for his family.

Excepting the protection of law, which every alien who resides in Her Majesty's Dominion claims, Indians do not possess any civil or political rights as British subjects. As many of them possess strong native talents, powers of foresight, quick and accurate observation, conjoined in many instances with extraordinary personal influence and persuasive faculties, why they should not participate in all the blessings of British North American subjects, and with their white neighbors enjoy permanent security of their landed possessions, is a query for our rulers and great men to solve.

As fast as the white man approaches the Indian reserves, the value of land greatly increases, and in many instances land speculators have not suffered the poor Indian to rest, until by some artifice or other, they have prevailed on them to quit their settlements and seek fresh homes in the far-off West. Many arguments have been advanced with the plausibility of philanthropic intentions, that by such removals they were rendering the Indian service; but the fallacy of such reasoning is evident.

If while under the counsel of those who sincerely desire their advancement and improvement, they still feel the influence of those whose aim is to injure and demoralize, what will their condition be benefited when driven far beyond the power of Christian example and restraint?

The Indians within our Provinces are well aware of the advantages of civilization, and desire to improve in arts and knowledge, so that they may participate in our privileges. It is a matter of congratulation that in many of the settlements efforts are now made to encourage and bring forward by the system of competition, those who

apply themselves to agriculture and the arts, and also that many Indian youths, who have discovered superior talents, are now receiving advantages of a higher degree, fitting them as teachers amongst their brethren.

BRANT'S SCHOOL-DAYS.

It will be remembered that Sir William Johnson having observed the promising character of young Brant during several campaigns of the war against the French, placed him at school in Lebanon, Connecticut, to receive an English education, in 1760.

The account of his introduction into the school is found in a narrative by Rev E. Wheelock, the principal.

"The Honorable Scotch commissioners, in and near Boston, understanding and approving of the design of sending for Indian children of remote tribes, to be educated here, were the first body or society who have led the way in making an attempt for that purpose, which because of the newness and remarkable success of it, (I suppose it may not be disagreeable if I am a little particular in my account of it); while I was in Boston they passed a vote to this purpose, May 7th, 1761: That the Rev. Mr. Wheelock be desired to fit out David Fowler, an Indian youth, to accompany Mr. Sampson Occom, going on a mission to the Oneidees, that said David be supported on said mission for a term not exceeding four months, and that he endeavor, on his return, to bring with him a number of boys not exceeding three, to be kept under Mr. Wheelock's care and instruction, and that £20 be put into Mr. Wheelock's hands to carry this design into execution, and that when said sum be expended, he advise the Treasurer of it and send his accounts for allowance.

"Pursuant to this vote I clothed and furnished said David with Horse and Money for his long Tour into the wilderness, which he set out on June 10th, in company with Mr. Occom, by the way of New York; in which Journey he rode above a thousand miles, and by the Advice, Direction and Assistance of Sir W. Johnson, obtained three Boys of the Mohawk Nation, who were willing to leave their friends and country and come among Strangers of another Language and quite another Manner of Living, and where, perhaps, no one of their Nation then living had ever been; and among a People of whom their Nation have been of a long time inclined to entertain Jealousies. Their names were Joseph,

Neyges, and Center. They arrived here August 1st, 1761, but had so much Caution in the extraordinary Enterprize, that they brought each of them an Horse from their own Country. Two of them were but little better than naked, and could not speak a word of English. The other being of a Family of Distinction, was considerably clothed, *Indian-fashion*, and could speak a few words of English. Joseph, accompanied by Mr. Kirtland, who was learning the Mohawk language of him, returned home Nov'r 4th, and back again on the 27th inst, bringing two Mohawk lads with them viz: Moses and Johannes, by whom Sir Wm. Johnson informed me that he expected to be able to send the Rest when they came in from hunting.

Sir W. Johnson writes in 1761 to the Rev. E. Wheelock:—

FORT JOHNSON, Nov. 17, 1761.

REVEREND SIR,—

* * * I am pleased to find ye Lads I sent have merited your good opinion of them. I expect they will return, and hope will make such progress in the English Language, and their Learning, as may prove to your satisfaction and the benefit of the Indians, who are really much to be pitied. * * * I have given in charge to Joseph (Brant) to speak in my name to any good Boys he may see, and encourage 'em to except the Generous offer now made them, which he promised to do, and return as soon as possible, and that without horses.

(Signed,)

WM. JOHNSON.

The other letters concerning this time are of later date:—

Extract from Mr. Smith's letter to Sir W. Johnson, dated Lebanon, Jan. 18th, 1763.

"I propose next Summer to take an excursion into the Mohawk Country as a Missionary; and, being a stranger to the Indian Dialect, I must of consequence improve an Interpreter; having spent some time here as a Schoolmaster, (with that worthy gentleman and eminent friend of Indians the Rev. W. Wheelock) I have contracted an intimate Acquaintance with Joseph, who I understand is high in your affection and esteem, and has the Wisdom and Prudence to resign himself to your Direction and Conduct—as He is a promising youth, of a sprightly Genius, singular Modesty, and a Serious Turn. I know of none so well calculated to answer my End as He is—in which Design He wold very Willingly and cheerfully engage should

your Honour consent to and approve of it. He has so much endeared himself to me, by his Amiable Deportment; his Laudable Thirst after and Progress in Learning, that did I not apprehend this would be as beneficial to Him as advantageous to me, I should neither deserve his Assistance nor solicit Your Approbation. But I apprehend I can much sooner perfect him in the English Language, and better instruct Him in whatever He shall have occasion to learn, when he is constantly with Me, than when in the School, where a large Number are to be taken Care of in conjunction with Him. Should your Honour approve of the Proposal, I should immediately take upon me the whole Expense of his Education; and so long as he serves in the Character of an Interpreter, would allow him a genteel Reward. The present Excursion is designed only for a few months, after which he can return again to his School, so that I imagine if it's of no Advantage, it can be but of little disadvantage to him."

(Signed,)

CHARLES JEFFERY SMITH.

Reverend Mr. Wheelock to Sir William Johnson:—

HARTFORD, May 16, 1763.

SIR,—May it please your Honour:—

I received last evening a paper with your seal, enclosing a letter from Joseph to his sister; wrote, I suppose, in the Mohawk language, and by which he informs me he is ordered to come directly home; that the Indians are displeased with his being here at school; that they don't like the people, &c., which has occasioned no small exercise in my mind, and many turnings of thoughts what should be the occasion of it. In my last to you I informed you of the truly noble and charitable design of Mr.

Charles Jeffery Smith, (who has been Joseph's tutor last winter), his purpose to come with Joseph to you as soon as he could get ready for the business of his proposed mission, and that I designed to take Joseph with me to Boston and Portsmouth, &c., and that you might expect him in June, &c.; but whether you have received that letter, with others from Mr. Smith and Joseph, I don't learn. And inasmuch as there was nothing wrote to me manifesting your pleasure in the affair, I presume Your Honor did not know the contents of the inclosed, though it came under your seal; and how to conduct in the affair I am at a great loss. Mr. Smith is now gone to New York, &c., to prepare for his Mission. I expect him back soon, and if he comes and finds Joseph gone, whom he depends upon for a guide and companion, he will be greatly disappointed, and I fear, will think himself very ungratefully treated. Joseph is rendered so very uneasy, for fear of gaining the Displeasure of his Friends, that I am doubtful whether it will do to detain him; and to send him alone on foot will not be well, and to send a Horse with him may give him much trouble to return him. Nor have I any intimation of the valuable End that may be served by his going before the time proposed. And as Joseph desires to put himself under your Honour's conduct, as what he apprehends most prudent and safe for him to do, so I should be glad Your Honor would, as explicitly as you please, let me know your Pleasure. And, upon the whole, I think it advisable to detain Joseph (if he will be content to stay), till I receive your Honour's Pleasure, or till the time appointed for his coming by Mr. Smith.

And I am, with Sincere Respect and Esteem,

Your Honour's

Most obedient humble Serv't,

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

Sir William Johnson.

